



8:30 P.M., E.W.T., MAY 10, 1945

# Town Meeting



*Bulletin* OF AMERICA'S  
TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR  
*Sponsored by* THE READER'S DIGEST

## What Next in Europe?

*Moderator,* GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

*Speakers*

SEATTLE PUBLIC LIBRARY

H. R. BAUKHAGE  
H. V. KALTENBORN

GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT  
ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

(See also page 12)

4th

of Five Broadcasts Celebrating the 10th Anniversary

## Are We Solving America's Race Problem?

(PREVIEW IN THIS ISSUE—SEE PAGE 23)

The race problem is not one that can be solved by a simple and immediate panacea. We are sure that such a problem does exist. What to do and what is already being done toward its solution will be under discussion. Listen in!

COMING MAY 24th

TUNE IN EVERY THURSDAY, BLUE NETWORK—8:30 p.m., E.W.T.



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The account of the meeting reported in this Bulletin was transcribed from recordings made of the actual broadcast and represents the exact content of the meeting as nearly as such mechanism permits. The publishers and printer are not responsible for the statements of the speakers or the points of view presented.

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MAY 10, 1945

CIRC.  
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VOLUME 11, No. 2

# Town Meeting



Bulletin of America's Town Meeting of the Air ★ George V. Denny, Jr., Moderator

## What Next in Europe?

### Announcer:

The victory over Germany for which free men all over the world have worked and fought and prayed has come at last. Tonight America's Town Meeting sponsored by *The Reader's Digest*, America's most widely read magazine, brings you a discussion on what the German surrender means in Europe. Will war-ravaged countries explode with internal strife now, or will there be co-operative and peaceful reconstruction?

To open this important broadcast from San Francisco, here is the founder and moderator of America's Town Meeting, Mr. George V. Denny, Jr. Mr. Denny. (Applause.)

### Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. We were scheduled to be in Kansas City, Missouri, tonight, but due to the arrival of V-E Day and complications in the Kansas City program we are back in San Francisco with a program we've held in readiness for the past two

months. We apologize to our friends in Kansas City and sincerely hope that we can be with them soon.

At the close of the last war, a famous American comedian who might be classified as the Ed Gardiner of his day used to wisecrack to American audiences, "To der victim belongs der spoiled goods!" If William Collier were alive today, he would realize the tragic truth of his jest of a quarter of a century ago. We were indeed the victors in the last war, and we and our Allies wrote the peace only to become the victims of another and greater war which is but half won.

Will we be courageous enough and wise enough this time to find ways and means of resolving our differences without sowing the seeds of another world war. The magnificent victory of Allied military power in Europe leaves us with innumerable problems to face. We turned away from these a quarter of a century ago, and we, the generation that failed to make a lasting peace, had to send our



sons and daughters to fight again for the freedom we thought we had won.

So tonight, through the eyes of four skilled observers and commentators, we invite you to look at the problems of the people of this war-torn continent that we might use our power and influence wisely and courageously in the days ahead.

Throughout this war Major George Fielding Eliot, a syndicated columnist of the *New York Herald Tribune* and radio commentator, has maintained an outstanding reputation as a military expert. So it is fitting that we ask him to discuss the military phase of tonight's question, "What Next in Europe."

There are few journalists in the world who enjoy more the confidence and esteem of their professional associates and public alike than Anne O'Hare McCormick of the *New York Times*. Mrs. McCormick returned a few weeks ago from an extensive trip through southern Europe, France, and England, so she will tell us how the people there feel as they confront the problems of peace.

A voice familiar to Blue Network listeners everywhere, "Baukhage talking," will present some of the aspects of Russia's influence in European affairs.

Germany we leave to the veteran news analyst and dean of American radio commentators, H. V. Kaltenborn.

As our special interrogator, we have the services of a distinguished authority on European affairs, the

Blue Network's Pacific Coast commentator, Mr. James Abbe. Then the audience will take a hand.

But, let's hear now from our military analyst who will attempt to answer many questions uppermost in your minds today, now that the victory in Europe has been achieved. Major George Fielding Eliot. *(Applause.)*

### Major Eliot:

From the military viewpoint there will be a great deal for the victor powers to do in Europe during the next few months. First of all comes the great sorting out and reshuffling process which will be necessary as the forces of the United States and the British Empire are shifted halfway around the world to concentrate against Japan.

Of course, there will be many men and a great deal of equipment left in Europe and there will be priorities to be established as to what is first needed in the Pacific. Service troops are needed first.

All this means that the western ports of Europe will be jammed to their utmost capacity with shipping, that the roads and railways leading to them will be studded with great camps and with depots of supplies, and that while all this is going on there will have to be extensive training and recreational activities for the millions of soldiers who will be waiting for a ship.

But this is only a temporary part of the European picture, a phase of intense activity which will fade away. The Allied armies of occupation in Germany will be left

behind and their jobs will be long and arduous.

First, of course, German resistance must be cleaned up wherever it may exist. There will doubtless be little groups here and there who will want to go on fighting, perhaps in the mountains at the south. There will be snipers and saboteurs who will have to be sternly dealt with. Whether any well-organized underground resistance will develop remains to be seen. My guess would be that it will not make itself manifest right away; that it will come later when the full effects of misery and starvation has taken hold on the minds and bodies of the German people, and when they are beginning—as people will—to blame the Allied occupation authorities and not their own defunct leaders for the mess that they are in.

The exact limits of the four Allied armies in Germany must be carefully established so that there will be no overlapping of authority. The present plan is, as you know, that the Russians take the East of Germany, the British the Northwest, the United States the Southwest, and the French are to have the somewhat smaller zone between the Americans and the British. Berlin is to be internationally occupied.

The Central Control Commission in Berlin, which is a military body, must be set up. I don't know what the exact size of the armies of occupation will be, but the size of the American contingent has been announced as 400,000 men, so we may guess that there will

be at least a million Allied soldiers in Germany for the time being.

One of the most important tasks for the American and British military leaders is to establish close and cordial relations with the Russians. Unless we can get this done, we shall have endless difficulty in administering occupied Germany.

As an old soldier I have an idea that G. I. Joe and G. I. Ivan will get along just fine and that this will eventually prove to be of great help to their superiors in getting along in higher matters. I think that setting hundreds of thousands of American and British soldiers along side hundreds of thousands of Russian soldiers is a very useful thing to do from the point of view of inter-allied cooperation and better understanding.

The military authorities will have to bear a very great part of the burden of feeding and housing millions of starving and homeless people all over Europe. They will have to provide trucks for transportation. They will have to get the railways working. They will have to keep up the communication system of the continent.

There will be considerable quantities of surplus military stores which can be made available for relief purposes. There will also be matters relating to law and order other than keeping down the German werewolves.

In many parts of Europe there will be grudges to be paid off. There will be ambitious, local leaders trying to establish themselves, and just plain looting and murder on the part of desperate



men, made more desperate by hunger and a lack of shelter.

From the point of view of the Allied armies this is not only a job which needs to be done in the interest of public order, but also because the security of their lines of communication must be safeguarded.

Gradually, of course, there will be a return to the authority of the various civilian governments. There will be the limitation of frontiers. There will be reestablishment of government institutions and the taking over of power by civil authorities from the military, but that time may be distant, and in Germany it may be very far away. The occupying powers must first of all be sure that Germany is completely disarmed, that we find out all there is to know about German military techniques, that the German General Staff is broken up so that it can't reestablish itself as the strongest power in Germany, and that a German government is established which is reasonably reliable. Even then, there must be adequate police of Germany.

And I think that it is extremely important that the United States should, in all these things, convince our Allies by what we do that we are willing to take, and ready to take, our full share in these military commitments and these military operations having to do with the policing and cleaning up of Europe. That is most important for the future confidence on which must rest the world organization we are trying to build

here at San Francisco. Thank you, very much. (*Applause.*)

**Moderator Denny:**

Thank you, Major Eliot. Now we hear the familiar and popular voice of Baukhage who like all of our other speakers has traveled extensively in Europe and has been covering this San Francisco Security Conference ever since it opened here two weeks ago. Baukhage talk! (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Baukhage:**

What's next in Europe depends a great deal on what's next in Russia. Russia, the greatest power in Europe, is potentially a tremendous factor, not only in an area as far west as the Elbe River itself, but along a frontier that reaches down towards the Mediterranean and which pushes the borders of Manchuria and India.

Russia is more than a state. You know it's been called a state of mind and it's a purpose, too. What that purpose includes, what the final goals of Russia may be, or whether her sights are yet raised to the highest we don't know.

Reports from Berlin today stated, on what was said to be the authority of a Russian officer, that Russia had lost as a result of this war in soldiers and civilians, 15 million dead. Now even if this figure is exaggerated, it is important because it's a gauge of what Russia feels has been her contribution to the peace, and what, as a corollary, she may demand as the fruits of that peace. It also reveals graphically what the war did to throttle Russia's hope for achiev-

ing her social and her economic aims.

Since we know the fervent purpose of Russia is to demonstrate the thesis that under peace conditions communism can prove itself a superior form of government to any other government, it is very clear that Russia's first objective—her *sine qua non*—must be security.

Whether with peace the Soviets can prove that their form of government is the best, will greatly affect the distant fate of Europe and the whole world. But her immediate steps to achieve this security will determine first of all what's next in the states next to Russia.

Russia's first step to bastion her borders against invasion, against war, is the building of what has been called a *cordon sanitaire* in reverse along her old borders—a barrier composed of these contiguous states whose governments she defines as friendly.

Well, now, Russia has enough territory of her own and we know that if she does interfere with the governments of other small states against their will, it won't be to take territory. But only last Monday, in a press conference right here, Commissar Molotov discussing the amendments of Dumbarton Oaks agreed upon by the Big Four said that the United Nations must act with a view to expediting the realization of the principles of equality and self-determination of nations.

Now how does Russia interpret self-determination? We can judge,

perhaps, what's next for others of Russia's neighbors by what happened in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania which, as you know, became independent republics after World War I. All three, as you know, were occupied by Russia when Germany and Russia were allies in the campaign against Poland. Under Soviet supervision, then, plebiscites were taken and the states were declared Soviet Republics as a result. In all cases members of the former governments denounced these plebiscites as fraudulent.

The United States seemed and still seems to feel that there was a basis in these charges, for we have not changed recognition of the Baltic states. We still recognize the representatives of the republics here.

I once remarked to a British correspondent about these states, "Certainly the majority of the people there are not in favor of the present governments."

He said, "Have you been in any of the Baltic states lately?"

Well, of course, I hadn't, and he said, "Well, if you went there now I think you would find very few people who oppose communist rule."

Well, the inference, I suppose, was that the majority which the United States thought existed were either deported, departed, or converted. Perhaps, of course, they were simply the little men who were never there.

What really did happen along the shores of the Baltic we don't know; perhaps it was all quite according to Hoyle. What will



happen next in Poland is difficult to say when we don't know what is happening in Poland now. This morning Prime Minister Churchill implied that negotiations on this subject with Russia were not progressing favorably.

Reports circulating in this country following the admission of the arrest of those sixteen members of the Polish underground indicate at least a state of unrest which may portend disturbances elsewhere in this *cordon sanitaire* or among the countries surrounding Russia.

If Britain and the United States are convinced that Russia is interfering with the self-determination of Poland, or other countries, it will mean a controversy among the Big Three which may throw the whole structure of peace in Europe off balance.

What's next in Europe then? So far there is the future that is to be influenced by the most powerful factor, Russia, which seems to depend upon the pattern set by the Polish negotiations now going on. (*Applause.*)

**Moderator Denny:**

Thank you, Baukhage. Now, let's turn our attention to the political aspects of the German situation through the eyes of a man who knows that country well, H. V. Kaltenborn, a favorite of Town Meeting listeners, and dean of American radio commentators. Mr. Kaltenborn. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Kaltenborn:**

German plans and German leadership have often determined

the history of Europe. The Germans have always been a warlike people. Because Germans lacked, until 1871—lacked unity until that time—they often made war on one another. That is why they failed to create an empire.

From the day they were unified by Bismarck, as a result of Prussia's three successful wars of conquest against Denmark, Austria, France, they wanted an empire.

In 1914 they went to war to get an empire. They were defeated by an overwhelming coalition, but they still wanted an empire.

Adolph Hitler came along and told them they could have what they wanted. But, he said, Germans should not waste their efforts trying to get colonies. They should gather in neighbor territories. Let then seize Danzig, Memel, the Polish Corridor, the Sudetanland, and the richest parts of Soviet Russia. So the Germans helped Hitler gather in all these places, but the Germans have always had a blind spot. They have never been able to predict what other people will do in response to what Germans do.

On the day the Germans marched into Poland, they assured me the French and British would never go to war for Poland.

On the day they marched into Russia, they thought Rudolph Hess could persuade the British to change sides in the war and march in with them.

Even today, they actually expect us and the British to protect them against the Russians. Admiral Doenitz said as much the other



day. That is why they all want to surrender to us.

I am confident that the fat, miserable Goering expects us to set him up in one of the Kaiser's castles and make him the new Fuehrer of conquered Germany so that he can help us plan a war against Russia.

I agree with Major Eliot that we must do our best to develop close and cordial relations with the Russians. Mr. Baukhage has made it clear that this will not be easy, but there are some fools in the United States who have already begun to play the dangerous anti-Russian, pro-German game.

I have always advocated a realistic attitude toward Russia because I believe that is the best way to remain friends with Russia, and we must remain good friends to protect ourselves and the world from another war.

Germany's one hope in the war which has just ended was to drive a wedge between Russia and the other Allied powers. Germany's one hope in preparing for another war is to drive that same wedge. If she succeeds, Germany will hold the balance of power in Europe in spite of anything that we may do to hold her down.

Mr. Baukhage has outlined Russia's way of persuading neighbor states to become friendly states. Russian influence will probably help communize that part of Germany which Russia now controls. Germany had 6,000,000 communist voters before the war. My guess is that Allied occupation divided into four zones will tend towards

a permanent division of Germany into separate states.

German Catholics may well prefer to remain separated from German Communists. If Germans want separation, we should accept it and make the most of it. If they want to remain united, there will be no true peace in Europe until they are reunited.

There are some liberal forces in Germany. We should encourage them. But don't expect a Nazi-trained, war-ruined German generation to turn to democracy for salvation. Germany's ultimate salvation can only come from within at some future time.

Today, Germans are only sorry for themselves. For ten years they have been fed on nothing but lies. Years will pass before they will accept the truth. But we can help. Just punishment of war criminals will help. Military occupation will help. Postwar misery will help. All will be needed to convince Germans that the way of war no longer leads to victory and glory. Here in San Francisco, we are writing that truth into a world-wide covenant of faith and hope. (Applause.)

**Moderator Denny:**

Thank you, Mr. Kaltenborn. It's a rare privilege to present to our listeners our next speaker, whose brilliant work in the columns of the *New York Times* and on the lecture platform has won for her the admiration and affection of discriminating American people everywhere, Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick. Mrs. McCormick. (Applause.)

Mrs. McCormick:

Speaking for the immediate future, Mr. Kaltenborn, it seems to me that many things in Europe today are far more dangerous as a potential cause of war than a prostrate Germany. Hunger is powerful, chaos is powerful, the apathy of people is powerful, moral disorder is powerful.

As I traveled through liberated Europe a few months ago, I sometimes wondered if these, rather than the political powers, were not the "Big Four" that controlled the future.

One of the worst consequences of the European war is this moral disorder. We are working in San Francisco to build up machinery to enforce international law, but before that we have to build up respect for ordinary civil law in most of the liberated countries.

Don't forget that the patriots of Europe, the best hope of the future, are young men and young women who have lived for the past five years outside the law. Remember that, until now, forging identity papers and official documents of all kinds, evading the law, defying the authorities, stabbing policemen in the back, were heroic forms of service to the nation. Destruction itself has been for five years in Europe a patriotic duty.

Now it's very hard to cease being a partisan against an enemy government, a guerilla fighter with whom every illegal act is an act of the highest virtue and become overnight a law-abiding citizen.

In France, Italy, Belgium, Yugoslavia, I have seen how dangerous this transition is, especially when the patriots who have fought so bravely against the law are disbanded, disarmed, and scrapped, so to speak, being left with nothing to do either because they were not encouraged by the Allies to join the regular army as in Italy, because uniforms and arms were not available in sufficient quantities to equip them fast enough as in France before the fighting ended, or because tools and materials are lacking everywhere to employ them in the vast tasks of reconstruction that wait to be started. So the end result, ladies and gentlemen, is a reign of lawlessness.

I talked one day in Italy to a captain of the *carabiniere* in charge of the policing of a country district near Rome where no farmer was safe because of nightly raids on his cattle or in his chicken yard or even on the pitiful little store of food he had in his house. This captain told me that he had twelve men to police an area more than 20 miles square and that since the policemen had no cars, no gas, and only one bicycle among the twelve, the robbers could operate without fear of being caught.

Now this is just a small example of the extent to which even the means of law enforcement are broken down, not to speak of respect for law itself and less for all the moral codes we have built up in our long march from the jungle to this jungle.



The next day, I remember a moving scene in St. Peter's when the Pope walked as a pilgrim and a penitent up the great central aisle and knelt for an hour before the main altar while the congregation that filled the vast church chanted the Miserere. I shall never forget that bitter chant. It seemed to me the voice of Europe, "Have mercy on us, oh Lord, have mercy."

It was a service of expiation, the Pope said, for all the sins of Europe and for the degradation of Rome. Now this degradation, this demoralization, is not confined to one city or to one country. It is the universal effect of the inversion of moral values under German occupation.

I can assure you that hunger induces the most respectable people to sell all their possessions and sometimes their souls to buy bread. As long as bread is scarce, people will sell everything they have—their last mattress, their last electric light bulb—to procure food, and while law is unobserved and confusion reigns the partisans and the people who have arms are going to keep those arms because they have no trust in these provisional governments and no trust in the future.

I say these armed groups are going to hang on to their arms, and this, in a way, is almost the small microcosm of the problem and the dilemma that confronts us all. Are we going to continue to have faith in the power of national armed forces to keep the peace, or can peace best be main-

tained and secured through the extension of law to the international community? It begins from the little local village and extends up here to what we are trying to do in San Francisco.

In other words, will we continue to rely on our own six-shooters, or are we willing to put our guns on the table and leave law enforcement in the hands of the sheriff?

Now, in any case, there's no use setting up the machinery of peace on the upper levels, as we are trying to do here, unless we create the conditions of peace on the levels on which human beings live, on the levels where the starving and homeless and the lost grope today for order, safety, and hope in the awful confusion that the war leaves behind.

What is next in Europe, ladies and gentlemen, is physical and moral chaos and the greatest opportunity in history. This is the opportunity of the strong to fight on, to win a victory over chaos, and erect on the ruins of a dead world an order that all men will help to build because all men believe in it. (*Applause.*)

**Moderator Denny:**

Thank you, Mrs. McCormick. Now, Mrs. McCormick, if you and Major Eliot, Mr. Baukhage and Mr. Kaltenborn will join me up here around the microphone, our special interrogator, Mr. James Abbe will be delighted to try to find flaws in each of your statements. Mr. Abbe. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Abbe:** Well, none of you experts on human behavior have

## THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

**HILMAR ROBERT BAUKHAGE**—"Baukhage talking!" is the familiar greeting heard by many radio listeners when they tune in one of the popular news broadcasts. Mr. Baukhage was born in 1889, in La Salle, Illinois. He received a Ph.D. degree from the University of Chicago and attended the universities of Bonn, Kiel, Jena, Freiburg, and the Sorbonne in Paris.

Even before his graduation from college he had a job on the *Chautauqua Daily*. In 1913 he was with the Paris Bureau of the *Pall Mall Gazette* of London. In 1914 he joined the Washington Bureau of the Associated Press. For a period he was assistant manager of *Leslie's* and from 1919 to 1932 was with the Consolidated Press as superintendent in San Francisco and Washington, and as superintendent and business manager in Chicago. From 1932 to 1937, he was on the staff of the *United States News*. Since 1940 he has been Washington correspondent for Western Newspaper Union.

From 1934 to 1942, Mr. Baukhage was a news commentator on the Farm and Home hour. From Berlin, in 1939, he broadcast for NBC the outbreak of the present war. He was the first person to broadcast from the White House the Pearl Harbor attack. Since 1942, Mr. Baukhage has been a Washington commentator for the Blue Network.

During World War I, Mr. Baukhage served in the AEF, and he covered the Paris Peace Conference for *Stars and Stripes*.

**HANS V. KALTENBORN**—Dean of radio commentators, H. V. Kaltenborn made his first news broadcast in 1922. Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Mr. Kaltenborn was graduated from Harvard in 1909 with an A.B. cum laude. Since then, he has received several honorary degrees. For twenty years, 1910-1930, he was associated with the *Brooklyn Eagle*. In 1930, he left the *Eagle* for WABC, key station for the Columbia network. Since 1940, he has been with the National Broadcasting Company. Mr. Kaltenborn has been radio reporter for many political conventions, national and international congresses, League of Nations sessions, Pan American Peace Conferences, and the like. His honors and citations for meritorious radio reporting are too numerous to mention. He was awarded a gold plaque

for the best foreign radio reporting covering the Spanish front in 1936, when he took the microphone on the field and made possible the first radio transmission of artillery and machine-gun fire during actual combat. Mr. Kaltenborn is the author of several books and many magazine articles. Among his books are *We Look at the World*, *Kaltenborn Edits the News* and *I Broadcast the Crisis*. Mr. Kaltenborn is widely traveled and has a knowledge of several foreign languages including French, German, and Italian.

**GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT**—One of the best known among military analysts either on the air or in the press is George Fielding Eliot. Major Eliot was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1894. After his graduation from Melbourne University in Australia, he served with the Australian Imperial Force from 1914 to 1918. From 1922 until 1930 he served as a captain and later as a major in the Military Intelligence Reserve of the United States Army. After five years as an accountant in Kansas City, Missouri, Major Eliot began writing for fiction magazines in 1926. Since 1928 he has written especially on military and international affairs and on military defense. At present he is military analyst for the *New York Herald Tribune* and is heard regularly on the radio.

Major Eliot's books include *If War Comes*, *The Ramparts We Watch*, *Bombs Bursting in Air*, and *Hour of Triumph*.

**ANNE O'HARE MCCORMICK**—A staff member of the *New York Times*, Mrs. McCormick has interviewed all the top history-makers of Europe during the last twenty years. Mrs. McCormick was born in England but was reared in Ohio. She is a graduate of St. Mary's Academy in Columbus, Ohio. She began acquiring her European background on frequent trips abroad with her husband, Francis J. McCormick, a Dayton, Ohio, importer.

In 1921, Mrs. McCormick became a free lance contributor to the *New York Times*, and soon was taken on as a roving reporter. In her 20 years of roving she has interviewed Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, De Valera, Blum, Dollfuss, Schuschnigg, and many others. In 1937 she won the Pulitzer prize for foreign correspondence. She is the only woman ever to serve on the governing editorial council of the *Times*.

predicted very much so far. And you haven't been very specific about what is next in Europe so let's start at the beginning with Major Eliot. Now, Major, you spoke of close relations between Ivan and G. I. Joe, or cordial relations between Russians and



Americans. Now won't there necessarily be territorial dividing lines between the men of the two forces and to what extent can they intermingle and what makes you think they would get along together what with being brought up so differently?

**Major Eliot:** It's worked out that way, Mr. Abbe, wherever they have met, in North Persia and on the Arctic Coast and in the operations of our air forces from Russian bases. I say that because I know soldiers. Soldiers manage to get along with each other even if they don't speak the same language. Our boys will be swapping cigarettes for vodka before they've been in contact with the Russians two days and about the third day they'll be sitting around their campfires singing each other's songs. The fact they don't understand each other won't make any difference. Soldiers are like that. You can't issue orders to prevent it because you've got to put men on outpost duty and patrol and traffic control duty and so on, and you can't have an officer to watch each man. That's what you'd need if you want to prevent soldiers from having a good time.

**Mr. Abbe:** O. K. Well, now Mr. Baukhage, you talked about Russia wanting these protective states on her frontiers, wanting to secure her own frontiers. Won't that naturally led to protecting the frontiers of the protective states? Where's the end of that sort of thing? Where do they stop and who stops them?

**Mr. Baukhage:** Well, I can't tell you that. How far Russia goes depends on how far her reach exceeds her grasp. (*Laughter.*)

**Mr. Abbe:** That's a very clever answer, at least. (*Laughter.*)

**Mr. Denny:** I'm afraid you let that Blue Network commentator off too easily.

**Mr. Abbe:** Yes, I know. Well, I'll give him another one. Then how do you tell, Baukhage, where the Soviet Union leaves off and the Russian revolution begins? How about that one? (*Laughter.*)

**Mr. Denny:** The sixty-four dollar question.

**Mr. Baukhage:** Well, I pass, perhaps Mrs. McCormick can answer that.

**Mr. Abbe:** All right, Mrs. McCormick, I'll accept you as a substitute.

**Mrs. McCormick:** Isn't that mean of these gentlemen—to pass on the hardest questions to the woman? But you ask me where does the—

**Mr. Abbe:** Soviet Union leave off and the Russian revolution begin? What is the distinction between the—

**Mrs. McCormick:** Well, I think it's very difficult to tell where the Soviet Union leaves off and the Russian revolution begins because revolution is a powerful instrument of national Soviet policy. The Soviet Union has become very nationalistic and including all these border states in her own orbit she, I think, will create nation states as much as communist states and since the Russians are old revolutionists now and they're

a little bit tired of the revolutionary technique, I think, we can look in Europe for a kind of a compromise between Soviet Nationalism and communist revolutionary theory.

**Mr. Abbe:** Well, that sounds pretty good, too. (*Laughter.*) Now, Mr. Kaltenborn, you laid particular stress upon the German's having always wanted an empire. Is that good or bad—to want an empire?

**Mr. Kaltenborn:** Well, Mr. Abbe, it's not bad to want a wife, but if you take away someone else's, it is bad. (*Applause.*) Now the trouble with the Germans is that they came with their unity and with their power too late into a world where empire had already been divided among the early arrivals. The best thing for them to do would have been to profit by economic relations with those empires as they were doing and to be content with sharing whatever prosperity an empire brings and, by the way, under modern conditions, empires don't bring any more prosperity because they're now supposed to be run for the benefit of the inhabitants and that is true in much larger measure than most people would believe.

Take the case of India. India is no longer contributing to Britain's wealth. Britain owes India oodles of money and will find it very difficult to pay India. No, empire isn't what it used to be. If the Germans had any sense, internationally speaking, they would have been content to win an empire of wealth, an empire of eco-

nomic penetration as they were doing before the First World War and before the Second World War, but because they've been trained in the way of the soldier whose mission it is to grab and to conquer, they followed that tradition and twice they have been defeated and now, I hope, they're jolly well rid of it. If not, we're going to help to rid them of it in the years that lie ahead. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Abbe:** Well, at least, Mr. Kaltenborn, you've jolly well answered the question. (*Laughter.*) I'd like to get back to Mrs. McCormick just once more. Your idea of the Big Four of postwar Europe—hunger, chaos, apathy, and moral disorders—are ominously reminiscent of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse—war, famine, pestilence, and death—and they all recall conditions which prevailed in Russia in 1917, which conditions, as you know, gave Communism its greatest opportunity. Now, do you think such widespread conditions as you foresee in postwar Europe will invite or, perhaps, bring on a Communist revolution or a spread of the Russian revolution over Europe?

**Mrs. McCormick:** I believe that the conditions in a large part of Europe are ripe for revolution. But I think also you have a counter force. Most of the people of Europe are so exhausted and they're so yearning for peace that you have two counterforces—one working against the other. And I think the vacuum between the forces will be filled by whoever—and I now refer particularly to us,



to the democracies—has something to offer to these people—some hope in the moral order that they haven't at this moment. I think Europe is for the asking of any power with a program and a purpose and the means to put it through. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Denny:** Thank you, Mrs. McCormick and Mr. Abbe. Now before we take our questions from the audience, you can relax and catch your breath and take a drink of ice water while we pause briefly for station identification.

**Announcer:** You are listening to America's Town Meeting, the program that gives both sides of questions vitally important to you, sponsored by the most widely read

of all magazines, *The Reader's Digest*. For a complete copy of this discussion, including the question period immediately following, send for the *Town Meeting Bulletin*. Just write to Town Hall, New York 18, New York, and enclose 10 cents to cover the cost of printing and mailing.

Here's a special announcement. At the end of May, in celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of America's Town Meeting, all five of this month's programs will be published in one special bulletin. For your copy, write to Town Hall, New York 18, New York, and enclose 25 cents. Now, the *The Reader's Digest* returns you to Mr. Denny.

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## QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

**Mr. Denny:** Now we're ready for the questions from our audience. If you have a question, please raise your hand and, when recognized, rise, face the parabolic microphone, state the name of the person to whom your question is directed and then the question.

**Man:** A question for Mrs. McCormick. In recent years, the value of the national chessmen in the power game and the prosperity game of Europe, has greatly changed. In your opinion, does that change in the power of the units favor the development of more nationalism or the development of more internationalism?

**Mr. Denny:** Mrs. McCormick. A question from a delegate.

**Mrs. McCormick:** It would be very difficult to say there are any irreversible tendencies, mental tendencies, in Europe today. I believe there is a conflict going on between the pullback of nationalism and the push-forward of internationalism and that it depends upon what we are doing here in San Francisco—whether we are going to have more nationalism or more internationalism.

**Mr. Denny:** Thank you, Mrs. McCormick. The gentleman from the Air Forces.

**Man:** I have a question for Major Eliot. Will our occupation forces in Europe be made up of especially trained troops or will they be selected from the invasion troops?

*Major Eliot:* I think in the first instance they will be selected from troops that are already in Europe—as fast as possible. I believe it is the policy of the War Department to replace these troops with men who have served in the United States or with new draftees that are called up so as to release as rapidly as possible men who have had combat service and let them come home or send those that are needed to the Pacific. I think that very largely the armies of occupation will come to be made up either of men who volunteer for that duty or of men called up under Selective Service here at home.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Major Eliot. Mr. Kaltenborn has a comment to make to that.

*Mr. Kaltenborn:* I just wanted to ask the Major whether he thought that we would follow the same practice that we did after the first World War, when after a very short time all the men who elected to stay abroad did so by volunteering for that particular service?

*Major Eliot:* Yes, I do think that there will be a certain number of volunteers in the army of occupation, but I think it is going to be awfully hard to get 400,000 volunteers for that job. It will be a rather nasty one and I don't believe we are going to get 400,000 volunteers. We'll have to use Selective Service for the purpose.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Major. The young Wave over here. Yes.

*Lady:* Mr. Baukhage. Is Franco

Spain to be a policing or a policed power?

*Mr. Denny:* Wow! Is Franco Spain to be a policing or a policed power?

*Mr. Baukhage:* Well, I believe she will be accepted as a policeman and whether or not she is policed, of course, is going to depend in part, at least, on how the United Nations Organization works out, how its influence grows.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mr. Baukhage. The gentleman here.

*Man:* Mr. Kaltenborn, please. Why did Goering on surrender receive polite respect rather than being treated as a war criminal?

*Mr. Kaltenborn:* Because we have an intelligent Army which has an Intelligence Service. That Service is very desirous of securing from Goering important information as to recent events in Germany, and I leave it to you as to whether that information could be most completely, most easily, most carefully secured through treating him immediately as a war criminal or by catering to his vanity until he spilled the beans. (*Laughter and applause.*)

*Mr. Denny:* The lady over here. Yes.

*Lady:* A question for Mrs. McCormick. If Europe could be educated to accept a federated union or a united states, would not this go a long way toward peace in time and saving them from the misery and the starvation which they must undergo to support all their impoverished governments?



*Mrs. McCormick:* I believe, and I think we all believe absolutely, that a federated Europe of course would be much safer and more prosperous and a happier place for Europeans to live in than a Europe divided into a lot of little antagonistic states, but of course now we have the policies of the big powers also; we have tremendous cleavages, and whether this can come to pass or not, I don't know. I wish with all my heart it could.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mrs. McCormick. The gentleman here.

*Man:* Mr. Kaltenborn. Is there any evidence that we Americans are ready to share in the responsibilities of rebuilding moral forces instead of just policing the defeated countries?

*Mr. Kaltenborn:* The very best evidence is what is happening in San Francisco at the present time. We are hosts to the powers of the world with the purpose of organizing the moral forces of the world and placing them behind the covenant which is now being built here. The United States has assumed leadership of the moral forces. We have done that almost since the beginning of the war, and we are certainly carrying that task to a magnificent climax by what is being done here.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mr. Kaltenborn. Major Eliot?

*Major Eliot:* I would just like to add that it is under the leadership of the American delegation that such words as justice and law and human rights have been put

into the charter of the new international organization. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. The gentleman to the right.

*Man:* Major Eliot. You say that a German government must be established and Mr. Kaltenborn admits that it is almost improbable to establish one that will conduct themselves in a democracy or in a decent way. We usually punish our criminals by putting them away. Why not disintegrate the German nation?

*Major Eliot:* I think we will eventually have to have some form of civil government in Germany which will be run by Germans. We can't stay there forever. We will stay there as long a period as is necessary to do that job. I didn't say what form of German government would be established. I don't know what separatist forces may set themselves up inside of Germany. I don't know whether it will be possible to have an enduring form of government in Germany which is based on separation. I think we have to wait and see about that.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Major Eliot. Mr. Kaltenborn?

*Mr. Kaltenborn:* I just wanted to comment on the questioner's assumption which apparently was inherent in his question that there could be no decent government unless it was what we call a democratic government. I did express doubts that Germany could establish a democratic government in the near future, but that does not mean that they cannot establish a

decent government. Governments can be decent and nondemocratic. Ultimately we hope that all governments will become democratic, but if we are realists, we recognize that some of the governments on our own side in this war are not democratic. Let's not assume that every country needs to have the kind of a government that we have in order to play its decent part in an organized world. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. The lady. Yes.

*Lady:* Mrs. McCormick. Do you think that chaos and starvation in Italy is apt to lead the Italians to adopt Communism or will the influence of the Vatican be able to counteract it?

*Mrs. McCormick:* I think the influence of economic conditions is going to be very strong, perhaps stronger than the moral influences and not only that but there's already a great wave of Communism in Italy and has been for some time. But I must tell you the Communist Party in Italy is playing a very conservative role and trying to keep disorder down and also being very much more reactionary, the Socialists think, then the Socialists themselves are. So this is a point you must remember that the Communist party in every country doesn't always play the Communist role.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mrs. McCormick. The lady here.

*Lady:* Mr. Baukhage. Do you think the failure to solve the Polish question will deter the formation of the United Nations Charter?

*Mr. Baukhage:* Well, I have every hope indeed that that will not occur, and I must say this that there was an atmosphere here today and the day before, an atmosphere of optimism, a feeling that there has been sufficient faith and good will among the nations represented here in working out the charter so that that goal could be reached. We don't know what's happening in Poland but we have hopes that that can be settled so that it will not interfere with the formation of the United Nations Organization.

*Mr. Denny:* You fellows are awfully optimistic. Aren't there any cynics in the midst here? (*Laughter.*) All right, the gentleman there.

*Man:* Mr. Kaltenborn. What are the prospects of unity in Europe such as military combination against aggression, economic unity in the form of low or no tariff, and political ease of travel without visa?

*Mr. Kaltenborn:* For the moment the prospects are very poor. That does not mean they will always remain so. The points you mentioned are all envisaged in the security organization which we are working on here. There is, as you know, the Council for Economic and Social Problems which is certainly going to concern itself with that ease of transit, the absence of visas, the lowering of tariffs to which you refer. I agree that economic peace is the only sound basis of political peace and we certainly must move in the directions you



have indicated to make the organization being built here function efficiently.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. The lady here.

*Lady:* Mrs. McCormick. Is it likely that the political philosophy adopted by the groping and destitute nations will be influenced by the source and volume of material goods provided?

*Mrs. McCormick:* Oh, certainly. I mean people are going to recover as fast as they get materials to recover with. They are going to have a very different attitude towards government and towards life and towards the future when they are fed and housed. When you think of millions of people wandering over the roads of Europe today without any shelter, without any framework of normal life, you can see how a little help—and help has to be given—how children starving work a tremendous influence upon the future political direction.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mrs. McCormick. Now look out Baukhage, this next question is from my Arab friend, Sidi Barada.

*Mr. Barada:* I would like to know whether France will automatically rise and become a rival of Russia in the European affair?

*Mr. Baukhage:* Well, of course, France would like very much to take an exceedingly high place among the seats of the mighty. But it's hardly probable that she'll reach the strength and power of Russia—that's almost too much to think of. However, her influence is bound to grow if some of this

chaos is removed and if we get a civilized government into which the French culture will naturally fit.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Who is your question for?

*Lady:* For Mr. Eliot.

*Mr. Denny:* Oh, yes. This is another one of the consultants—a member of the consultants here to the American delegation. This is one of the ladies. Yes.

*Lady:* Mr. Eliot. How far can we utilize, in the occupation of Germany, men especially trained for that purpose such as those officers trained in military government at Charlottesville?

*Major Eliot:* Well, we'll use all those officers but we will not have enough of them as a matter of fact. We'll use every one that it has been possible to give special training to. The training of some men who were destined for military government duties—both officers and enlisted men—had to be interrupted because of the military necessities of the war. We needed more infantry and armored force replacements and we had to take them from every available source. That was unfortunate and we'll now have to begin additional training for officers and men for these special duties, especially those connected with the work of the Central Control Commission.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Major Eliot. Mrs. McCormick has something to add there.

*Mrs. McCormick:* I would only like to suggest to this gathering that I think it's very important that

we develop, in the United States, a corps of trained administrators which we have not at this present moment. With the brief training given to the AGM it isn't enough for the tremendous tasks we have ahead of us, and I don't think the American people can perform a more constructive service than to demand a trained personnel for the great jobs that are ahead of us.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mrs. McCormick. Major Eliot, something else to add?

*Major Eliot:* I heartily agree with what Mrs. McCormick has said and I would like to add that I think it is also vitally necessary that we try to develop as soon as possible in cooperation with the other United Nations, especially the permanent members of the Security Council, a corps of international inspectors who take care of such jobs as watching for German and Japanese rearmament and, perhaps, eventually carrying out international inspection of armaments when some general convention on that subject has taken place.

*Mr. Denny:* Well, this question has drawn Mr. Kaltenborn's fire, too.

*Mr. Kaltenborn:* Well, it recalled my experience in Aachen, Germany, after we had occupied that town where I spent some time there studying the military government. I found much to my surprise that we were using Germans for every purpose including police, the administration of the town, all the municipal services, all the banks, all the stores, and

we were exercising a very small amount of supervision. But it seemed to be effective. The German habit of obedience responded to our needs and I'm inclined to think that, as matters settle down, we will find that we can get cooperation from the right kind of Germans in handling a good deal of the administration. I don't believe for a moment that it would be possible for us to set up a complete administrative organization that would handle the administrative duties for eighty million Germans.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. The Major's back on his feet. Yes.

*Major Eliot:* I'd like to ask Mr. Kaltenborn a question.

*Mr. Denny:* Toss this ball around a little further. Come right up a little closer here.

*Major Eliot:* Mr. Kaltenborn, do you think that there will be eventually a German underground which will begin to murder and mistreat those Germans who cooperate with us in these various respects?

*Mr. Kaltenborn:* I should answer with a vigorous "No." That's a daring prophecy because no one knows exactly how much Hitler has succeeded in organizing the werewolves and the others. But on the basis of what I know of the German character, when the German is down, he's down, and I think for some time he'll be out. I do not expect the organization of any important underground movement in Germany.

*Mr. Denny:* Mr. Kaltenborn, while you're on your feet and

speaking of Hitler, is Hitler dead?  
(*Laughter.*)

*Mr. Kaltenborn:* I should say unequivocally "Yes." Because from what I know of Hitler's character after frequent interviews with him, I should say that he is just the man who would much rather die, and attempt to die dramatically, rather than permit himself to be captured. Yes, I feel quite sure that Hitler is dead.

*Mr. Denny:* That's a relief.  
(*Laughter.*) Another consultant representing the Rotary Club and I'm going to claim him for Town Hall. One of our trustees, Luther Hodges.

*Mr. Hodges:* Mr. Kaltenborn. Shouldn't we make Germany furnish manpower to rebuild the destroyed Allied cities in Europe?

*Mr. Kaltenborn:* We certainly should, and we will. The Allies hold a total of approximately ten million German prisoners, and since there is no treaty of peace, we are entitled to utilize those prisoners under the rules of international law for every kind of purpose that is now germane to the situation in Europe. I am convinced that for the next year or two, those prisoners will be used for the constructive purposes you mentioned.

*Man:* Mrs. McCormick. What may we expect from a victorious, but tired, Britain? What will be the most likely nature of the regime following Churchill's?

*Mr. Denny:* Mrs. McCormick. That's a nice easy question.  
(*Laughter.*)

*Mrs. McCormick:* Well, I've

asked that of several of my British friends and since they are not able to answer, I don't know why you expect me to.

*Mr. Denny:* Didn't you ask Mr. Eden at his press conference?

*Mrs. McCormick:* When I was in London this year, I asked this question of the people in the Labor Party—everybody believing that the Labor Party would inherit power. They themselves were not so anxious at the moment to inherit power. They may be more receptive now. But Herbert Morrison and people like Bevan said to me that until the political apathy — there's really political apathy in England—has had some spark and the war is over so that the people who are so very tired will begin to think again in political terms—because don't think the people in Europe are thinking in political terms, they're not—but Mr. Morrison says when people begin to think in political terms, the Labor government will come in, but until then, I should prefer the Conservative government would carry it alone. I don't know whether that will happen or not. I think Labor may come in.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. The lady here. Yes.

*Lady:* Mr. Baukhage. Will Russia ever have a sense of security until she is assured of warm-water ports in East and West and can this be accomplished within the machinery of the United Nations charter?

*Mr. Denny:* It came up to haunt you after all.

*Mr. Baukhage:* Well it might



be possible that Russia could achieve those demands. She might at least get privilege which would satisfy her. That's as far as the warm water goes. Of course, that's an ancient desire of Russia and has nothing to do with the ambitions of the Soviets—their ambition I limited to the question of security. I think that Russia could obtain security without achieving warm-water ports.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Next question.

*Man:* Mrs. McCormick. How long, in your opinion, will DeGaulle be able to hold the divergent elements together in France and is the rather rapid economic recovery possible in France?

*Mrs. McCormick:* France has a great deal of vigor—more vigor than I expected to find there. General DeGaulle, while he's not as popular as he was, is still the only leader that has come up to the surface in France and I think until some other party wishes to take over the tremendous burden of reconstructing and rehabilitating France, that DeGaulle will be a leader at least for the next year until there's a general election and perhaps even then. He's the only leader in sight just now.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mrs. McCormick, and thank you Mr. Kaltenborn, Mr. Baukhage, Major George Fielding Eliot, and Mr. Abbe, for your contributions and the audience for its intelligent questions. Though Germany has surrendered we must not forget

that there's still a long, hard fight ahead with Japan. Already many of the men who have brought us victory in Europe are on their way to the Pacific theater to see that final victory is won. We must stand behind them—everyone of us—so that as we fight, we can begin to build the peace. Here in San Francisco the leaders of the Allied Nations are formulating the plans for a lasting peace. Only the peoples of the world can make these plans work.

Remember next week we continue our Tenth Anniversary series on major American problems with a discussion of the subject, "Are National Planning and Government Controls a Threat to Democracy?" Mr. H. W. Prentis, Jr., president of the Armstrong Cork Company, and Dr. Harley Lutz, of Princeton University, say "Yes." Mr. Marshall Field, publisher of the *Chicago Sun* and New York's *PM*, join Lieutenant Colonel T. V. Smith, professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago on leave, saying "No." If you want to obtain tickets for this and any of the broadcasts during the next three weeks, send a stamped self-addressed envelope to Town Hall, New York 18, New York.

The following week, the subject will be, "Are We Solving America's Race Problem?" On May 31, our Tenth Anniversary topic will be "Russia and America—Postwar Rivals or Allies?" So be sure to tune in next week and every week.

# TOWN MEETING PREVIEW

## Are We Solving America's Race Problem?

By CHARLES E. MARTZ

*The subject outlined in this preview is to our best knowledge the one which will be used on Town Meeting of the Air Thursday evening, May 24, 1945. However, in view of the rapidity of wartime developments there is always a possibility that another topic which seems more urgent may be substituted before the show goes on the air.*

One of America's most striking characteristics is the lack of homogeneity in the population. We have prided ourselves as providing the "melting pot" out of which is to come a new culture, strengthened by elements from many groups. One consequence of this situation is the presence of many minority groups, and of problems about the relations of these groups to the dominant section of the population and to each other.

When we speak of the race problem we usually mean the problem of the relation of the Negroes to the white population. There is such a problem, which is serious. That much is certain. Another certainty is the fact that we *have not yet solved* the problem. The elements of the problem are fairly clear.

In most sections of the country, Negroes do not have the same job opportunities that the whites have. In some cases, that prerequisite to a job, membership in a labor union, is denied them. Many employers hesitate to tackle the problems incident to hiring both races in the same plant. It is generally accepted that Negroes are the last to be hired and first to be fired.

Then there is segregation which in some places prevents Negroes from having proper housing, education, recreation or health services.

Less tangible is another sort of segregation which forces Negroes to assume an attitude of inferiority.

Politically the Negro has been denied the vote in many places.

*Solving the Race Problem—* When we begin to discuss the solution of the problem, it might be worth while to consider whether these facts, as listed above, constitute the problem, or whether they are the symptoms which indicate the problem. When it comes to treatment, it might be well to distinguish between treating the symptoms and treating the malady. To decide whether or not we are solving our problem, we may well ask whether we are getting at the roots of the trouble or whether we are merely trying to gloss over the conditions which are the results of the trouble.

We have tried to solve some aspects of the problem by law. Long ago, Congress passed the Civil Rights Laws which were promptly nullified by constitutional interpretation and by actual prac-



tice. The Constitution denies to any state the power to take from any citizen the rights and privileges of citizens. But that constitutional provision has not been effective in providing a solution to our problem.

Now we are trying the experiment of the F.E.P.C., as illustrated by the recent law in New York State and the federal law before Congress.

In the passing of all such laws, of which there are many throughout the states, the question rises about the usefulness of treating symptoms before the malady is controlled. We had some experience in this sort of thing in the prohibition era.

*The Nature of the Malady*—The real nature of the condition we are discussing is far from simple. It has some of its roots in the heritage of a race that spent some centuries in slavery—segregated from all training in forethought, in the use of money, in private property, and even in sex morality. It is too much to expect that all the results of that heritage can be stamped out in less than one century of not too sympathetic contact with the race of the masters.

It has part of its root in population figures. There are sections of the country where the Negroes are in a numerical majority.

There is an economic basis for our problem, for there is competition for jobs.

In discussing many aspects of our question, there may be some difference of opinion as to which

factor is cause and which is effect. Are the characteristics of some Negroes the causes of our attitude toward them or the result of our attitude toward them? Whichever point of view we take, it is evident that the problem is far from an easy one. It reaches to the foundations of many human interests.

*Are We Solving the Problem?*—

It may be held, then, that the race problem is not one which can be solved by a simple and immediate panacea. Relations between large social groups living side by side, and competing for the jobs that often are not too plentiful, must be considered with perspective.

On one side we may paint a fairly dark picture of the current scene. On the other we can depict a slow but definite trend toward better relations over the last seventy-five years.

Perhaps the Town Meeting discussion will revolve about the question, "What should we do *that we are not now doing* to better conditions?"

Should we see to it that there is no discrimination in the amount or kind of education that is available for all Americans?

Should we—employers and employees—take steps to see that every American has a job opportunity commensurate with his ability without race discrimination? Can this result be accomplished by laws, or must it come from the conscious effort of individuals who see the danger in discrimination and determine to do something about it?